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12 May 1948

TO : A-S, H. W. Moseley, Secretary, SANACC

FROM : OII, Ralph Block, Chairman, SANACC Subcommittee on Special Studies and Evaluations

SUBJECT: Interim Report on the Activities of the SANACC Subcommittee on Special Studies and Evaluations - May 15, 1947 to May 12, 1948; Made on the Subcommittee's Own Initiative

I. The SWNCC Subcommittee on psychological warfare was established by action of SWNCC in approving a report of an ad hoc Committee set up to study and present conclusions and recommendations in reference to the following problem.

1. To review World War II efforts in psychological warfare, to study and report on the future status of psychological warfare and recommend:

a. A peacetime organization for keeping psychological warfare in a ready-for-mobilization status;

b. A wartime psychological warfare organization;

both organizations to be assigned such directives as will insure effective planning, particularly with respect to the integration of national psychological warfare with military plans.

The ad hoc Committee recommended that the SWNCC approve a charter (Appendix "A", SWNCC 304/1, revised 30 April 1947), establishing the Subcommittee on Psychological Warfare as the

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agency of SWNCC charged with:

a. Preparation of policies, plans, and studies for immediate and continuous employment of national and psychological warfare in time of war (or threat of war as determined by the President), and for transmission of such plans to SWNCC.

b. Preparation of plans for orderly and effective organizational transition of the Subcommittee from peacetime to wartime status and for transmission of these plans to SWNCC.

c. Coordination of implementation of approved plans and directives as specified in a, preceding, in the absence of a national wartime organization for psychological warfare.

d. Guidance and supply of necessary information, including implementing requirements therefor, concerning national psychological warfare plans to appropriate policy offices of the State, War and Navy Departments and to the Director of Central Intelligence, and to authorized coordinating agencies of other departments of the government of the United States.

At its 56th meeting on 29 April 1947 the SWNCC approved the amended report of the ad hoc Committee and agreed to appoint a Subcommittee on Psychological Warfare with terms of reference as indicated in the foregoing. The following named individuals

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were designated by their respective Departments to serve as members of the Subcommittee:

Mr. Ralph Block, OIE, State Department, Chairman
Mr. William R. Tyler, OIE, State Department, (alternate)
Colonel Cecil E. Combs, GSC, War Department
Lt. Col. Wesley B. Edwards, GSC, War Department (alternate)
Colonel Charles B. Dougher, AAF
Lt. Col. Robert C. Richardson, III, AAF, (alternate)
Captain K. F. Pechlmann, USN, Navy Department
Captain J. D. Hayes, USN, Navy Department (alternate)
Mr. Harry Rositzke, Central Intelligence Group
[redacted], Central Intelligence Group, (alternate)

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II. The Subcommittee held its first meeting 15 May 1947.

Pertinent facts which were brought out for the information of the Subcommittee in its early meetings were as follows:

1. War Department memorandum #575-10-1, 10 January 1947, describing "responsibility of War Department agencies for psychological warfare functions" calls attention to provision for planning and policy guidance and for the operational direction for psychological warfare activities including: "provision of army members for JCS liaison with the Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs (OIC), State Department". The War Department member pointed out that the memorandum indicated in the foregoing had not been activated.

2. A paper descriptive of the Psychological Warfare Organization of the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations was presented to the Subcommittee, providing frames of reference and orientation for planning purposes. It was stated by the Navy member that no office had as yet been set up to generate

propaganda and that currently there was no operational activity

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on foreign propaganda.

3. It was stated by the Air Force member that the Air Force had been charged by the War Department with the same responsibility as the ground forces; however no office for this purpose had been set up and currently there was no action on foreign propaganda.

4. The representative of CIC confirmed that CIC was a service organization with no current operations in the propaganda sense.

III. The thinking of the Subcommittee at that time was embodied in the following declarations drawn up for discussion:

1. The proposed Central Psychological Warfare Agency will have no policy making functions or responsibilities but will have advisory capacities within its sphere of accountability.

2. It will be a staff agency of the Executive, charged primarily with the translation of national policies into psychological warfare operations and activities designed to further to a maximum specified national objectives.

3. The Agency will not be subordinated to any one Department of the government.

4. As a general principle the Agency will be so organized as to utilize existing Government Agencies for collection of all required information and intelligence, and for implementation of its policies, operations and activities; and will not set up duplicate units, but will absorb and/or integrate existing units

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in which it has primary interests.

5. Psychological warfare to consist of:

a. The planning and development and execution of all phases of the federal program of radio, press, publications, speech and related foreign propaganda activities which involve the dissemination of information.

b. The planning, development and execution of all phases of the military and naval psychological warfare programs against enemy troops, forward areas and civilian population immediately behind enemy lines.

c. Planning, development and execution of the military or quasi-military psychological warfare programs in occupied areas to assure public submission to the control and policies of the occupying Commander.

6. Foreign psychological warfare operations were analyzed as requiring:

a. Determination of objectives and intentions of the enemy for purposes of formulating counter-propaganda programs.

b. Determination of internal enemy weaknesses; and other methods, through analyses of the nature of propaganda being directed by enemy governments toward its own people.

7. The Subcommittee proposed:

a. To plan, develop and execute indoctrination programs suitable to field and domestic personnel in appropriate

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phases of psychological warfare.

b. To plan, organize and develop equipment and techniques necessary to implement these programs.

IV. In consideration of the potentialities involved in planning a Central Agency for Psychological Warfare within the Subcommittee's frame of reference, the Subcommittee recognized that the Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs of the Department of State was the then sole agency authorized by Executive Order to carry on the foreign informational activities of the agencies which it had superseded (OWI and OIAA).

V. The Subcommittee agreed on the cover name: **SENATE Subcommittee for Special Studies and Evaluations.**

VI. The Subcommittee gave consideration to the question whether certain facilities and types of personnel and training involved in certain aspects of psychological warfare are maintained in any branches or agencies existing in the federal government, along with other potential facilities which are now existent and could be made available when and if required.

VII. It was brought to the attention of the Subcommittee that certain studies had been planned by the then Joint Research and Development Board which impinged upon work of the Subcommittee. The Navy member as a member of a JRDB Panel was requested to keep in touch with these studies. At a later date the Subcommittee

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attended a panel meeting on Human Relations and Morale, RDB, concentrated on discussion of research problems in the psychological warfare field.

VIII. 1. The Subcommittee considered the feasibility of requesting from SWNCC strategic guidance on national objectives; because of the security nature of the subject no conclusive action was taken.

Consideration was given to requesting assistance from authoritative scientific bodies in appropriate fields on the extent of mass susceptibility to terror, especially with reference to atomic warfare. Individual members of the Subcommittee, including the Chairman, later attended a Panel discussion of the National Research Council on this subject, as Panel members and as observers.

IX. An answer to a request for information from the Legislative Reference Bureau of the Library of Congress on psychological warfare facilities in World War II was referred to the Subcommittee and answered (SWNCC 304/4).

X. 1. Agenda of the Subcommittee three months after the initial meeting was as follows:

1. Practical organization at the center.
2. Practical organization in the field.
3. Analysis and clarification of the interim period between a state of emergency or its equivalent, and then
4. Implementing directives.
5. Organizational liaison with Executive Departments.
6. Recruitment and training.
7. Analysis and definition of the extent personnel shall be an integral part of the military establishment.

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8. A full study of the problem of "black" propaganda in all its aspects.
9. A full study of "white" propaganda in all its aspects.
10. Intelligence.
11. Propaganda content and propaganda policy in relation to the atom bomb.
12. Propaganda content and propaganda policy in relation to the United Nations.

2. The Subcommittee Progress Report of 24 September 1947 contained the following:

" . . . it was brought out clearly that what the Subcommittee has in mind in its studies and proposals; 'a separate agency drawing from Staff Sections of the Military Establishment, State, in addition to such special personnel as may be necessarily drawn from professional ranks outside government circles'. The discussion on the relation of economic policy as affecting any future psychological warfare emphasized the necessity of relating the proposed agency in future studies to any special wartime economic agency that might be set up, such as the Board of Economic Warfare and the Foreign Economic Administration in World War I."

XI. The deliberations of the Subcommittee resulted in its first report submitted to BWNCO (304/6, 30 September 1947). The Subcommittee addressed itself to the following problem:

1. To determine the responsibilities and the functions of a Psychological Warfare Agency, taking into account the related functions and activities of other government agencies, with a view to recommending a suitable organization within the government for the discharge of these functions in time of war.

The Subcommittee concluded:

- a. That in time of war (or threat of war as determined by the President) a Psychological Warfare Organization should be established under the National Security Council

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or SWHCC, with a Director appointed by the President, empowered to provide unified direction and authoritative coordination of the national psychological warfare effort, and provided by Executive Order or under law with strategic guidance and allocations of resources and manpower, funds and facilities essential to proper functioning; using established agencies to perform their functions appropriate to these objectives; the Director to be the Chairman of a Policy and Planning Board, with representation from the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and representatives of the Departments of State, Army, Navy, Air Force and the Central Intelligence Agency.

b. The Organization should plan and subject to approval of plans, develop, control and coordinate all foreign and domestic psychological warfare activities.

c. The Organization should formulate and carry out through all facilities information programs designed to facilitate the development of an informed and intelligent understanding at home and abroad of the status and progress of any war effort in which the United States may be engaged, and of the war policies, activities and aims of the government; and coordinate in consonance with approved policies the war informational activities of all federal departments and agencies.

d. That a psychological warfare category should be

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established to facilitate personnel placement immediately and training should be instituted as soon as possible within the Departments of the Army, Navy and Air Force and rosters should be established of personnel available for psychological warfare in the Department of State, and of persons so engaged in OWI and OIS in World War II.

2. The Subcommittee drew attention in a memorandum accompanying a report for the need of more extensive studies in connection with:

a. Immediate employment of psychological warfare in any war crisis considering the probable short time to mobilize.

b. "Black" propaganda in all its aspects.

c. Integration of civilian and military personnel into a wartime organization.

d. Propaganda measures with reference to any situation in which a zone of combat might exist within the Continental United States.

XII. SWNCC 304/6 was approved by SANACC in principle 8 January 1948. References to the National Security Council and/or SWNCC as the agency to which the proposed Psychological Warfare Agency should be accountable were held in abeyance.

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XIII. Under date of 9 October 1947 the Army member of SANACC stated in a memorandum to SANACC the following:

"I note that the terms of reference of the Subcommittee limit its considerations to those within the time frame of war or threat of war as determined by the President. I am of the opinion that the changing tenor of events of the past few months has raised for serious consideration the problem of determining the desirability or necessity of engaging in deliberate coordinated psychological effort on a national scale at the present time. I recommend, therefore, that the Subcommittee be directed to consider and make recommendations as a matter of urgency, on the problem 'Should the U.S. at the present time utilize coordinated psychological measures in furtherance of the attainment of its national objectives? If so, what organization is required and what should be its terms of reference?'"

At the 61st meeting of SANACC, 23 October 1947, this subject was referred to an ad hoc Committee.

XIV. 1. The membership of the Subcommittee at the time of approval of SWNCC 304/6 was as follows:

Mr. Ralph Block, Chairman, OIE, State Department
 Col. Cecil E. Combs, GSC, (War Department) Department of the Army
 Col. Oliver S. Picher, AAF, Department of the Air Force
 Capt. K. F. Poshmann, USN, Department of the Navy
 [redacted] (CIC) CIA
 Mr. William E. Tyler, OIE, State Department (alternate)
 Lt. Col. W. B. Edwards, GSC, Army (alternate)
 Capt. R. I. Campbell, USN, Navy (alternate)
 Col. Arthur J. Pierce, Air Force (alternate)
 [redacted] CIA (alternate)

2. On 13 January 1948 a memorandum was sent by the Secretary, SANACC, to the members of SANACC with an attached enclosure from the Chairman of the Subcommittee calling attention to the rapid turnover of membership designated by the

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respective Departments and Agency on the Subcommittee. It was pointed out that since the establishment of the Subcommittee ten representatives of the Departments had been appointed and relieved from duty on the Subcommittee. It was requested that steps be taken to provide a constant membership so far as possible, as recommended in the Subcommittee's charter. The Director of CIA was also furnished with a copy of the enclosure. Personnel who had been appointed and relieved were as follows:

Col. Cecil E. Combs, (War) - Army
Captain J. D. Hayes - Navy
Col. Charles E. Dougher - Air Force
Lt. Col. Robert C. Richardson, Air Force
Col. Oliver S. Picher, Air Force
Lt. Col. Richard T. Carlisle, Air Force
Col. Arthur J. Pierce, Air Force
Mr. Harry Rositske, (CIC) - CIA
[redacted], (CIC) - CIA

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XV. The Navy member presented a draft plan for a Joint Psychological Warfare Measures Section of the Joint Strategic Group of the Joint Staff. Following discussion the Subcommittee authorized the Chairman to take further action on exploring problems of coordination between the Subcommittee and the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Accordingly, a memorandum of 15 January 1948 was sent to the Secretary, Joint Chiefs of Staff, by the Secretary, SANACC, suggesting that a meeting be arranged for an exchange of ideas between the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Subcommittee. The Subcommittee was informally informed subsequently that an ad hoc Committee of the Joint Staff had been

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set up to explore this problem. No joint meeting has been held to date.

XVI. 1. A permanent Secretary, Major Max V. Brokaw, of the SANAGC Secretariat Staff was appointed and took office on 17 December 1947.

2. The Subcommittee moved into permanent quarters in March, 1948.

XVII. 1. The Subcommittee held a series of special meetings at which representatives of the Intelligence Divisions of the Departments of State, Army, Navy, Air Force, and a representative of CIA presented discussions of their operations as they might be related to the operations of a Psychological Warfare Agency.

XVIII. The Subcommittee discussed the organizational setup of SHAHF as related to psychological warfare. In this connection, on 15 April 1948 Brigadier General Robert A. McClure reported at a special meeting of the Subcommittee on the operations of the Psychological Warfare Division under his command in World War II.

XIX. Attention was given by the Subcommittee to the operations of the Office of International Information, Department of State, as they might be related to the Psychological Warfare Agency. In this connection, an informal opinion was obtained from the Legal Division, Department of State, on the possibility of transferring appropriate activities of the Department of State established

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under the Smith-Mundt Bill to a Psychological Warfare Agency, in time of war.

XX. The Subcommittee obtained information on the numbers and locations of transmitters available to be used for voice radio transmission by the proposed Psychological Warfare Agency.

XXI. Tentative lists of types of personnel and skills that might be required by a Psychological Warfare Agency were transmitted through SANACC to the National Security Resources Board.

XXII. Subcommittee papers on the relation of the Subcommittee to transitional phases from peacetime to wartime operation were submitted by the Navy member and the State member. These were initial papers in a series of papers developing this subject for Subcommittee discussion.

XXIII. 1. Under date of 23 March 1948 the Subcommittee's second report to SANACC was circulated. The Subcommittee addressed itself to the problem:

"To provide a plan for a national wartime Psychological Warfare Organization which may be used as a basis for further planning."

The Subcommittee recommended that SANACC approve the Appendix, a basic plan for a national wartime Psychological Warfare Organization under the proposed cover name of the National Security Information Agency, and asked that after approval a report be forwarded to the National Security Council for information.

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2. In this connection, a memorandum for SANACC was received from the Joint Chiefs of Staff containing pertinent comment on SWNCC 304/6, the Subcommittee's first planning paper. The Joint Chiefs of Staff in considering the effect on the national security by delaying until war eventualities the establishment of facilities for psychological warfare, recommended that:

"There should be established, as soon as practicable, under the National Security Council, a Psychological Warfare Organization, but with its peacetime scope and activities limited to that of a working nucleus for planning and coordination."

3. The SANACC approved the Subcommittee's paper (304/12) as a ^{possible} basis for further planning and forwarded it to the National Security Council ^{for information of the Council.} ~~"for consideration and appropriate action."~~

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The recommendations of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (304/14) for amendment of 304/6 were approved and were forwarded for the consideration of the National Security Council

XXIV. The Subcommittee explored the subject of functions and responsibilities in the federal structure which might be related to the operations of a Psychological Warfare Agency.

XXV. In relation to drawing up curricula for training of psychological warfare personnel, the Subcommittee invited Dr. Harold D. Lasswell, Yale University, to address it on this subject.

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XXVI. The current agenda of the Subcommittee is as follows:

- (1) Functions of a National Security Information Agency
- (2) Emergency Measures.
- (3) Functions and resources of agencies within the Federal structure which could be utilized by NSIA.
- (4) Field organization.
- (5) Legal problems attendant on establishment of NSIA.
- (6) Personnel policies relating to training, development of posters and classification categories for NSIA.
- (7) Research problems.
- (8) Domestic Operations and Special Activities.
- (9) U.S. National Policy on Psychological Warfare.

XXVII. Present membership of the Subcommittee:

Mr. Ralph Block, Chairman - State
Colonel W. L. McNamee - Army
Commander D. W. Knell - Navy
Colonel C. K. Rich - Air Force
 - CIA

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